

Message Text

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S E C R E T GENEVA 4248

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: SOVIET VIEW ON FOLLOW-UP

REFS: A) GENEVA 4232; B) GENEVA 4233

1. SUMMARY: IN INFORMAL PRIVATE DISCUSSION JUNE 5, SOVIET FOLLOW-UP REP (AND SEC GEN SOV CSCE DELEGATION) PETROVSKY GAVE US SOMEWHAT CLEARER INSIGHT INTO CURRENT SOVIET FOLLOW-UP APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

2. PETROVSKY SAID SOVIETS WERE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED OVER THE CONTINUING IMPASSE AND RESULTANT LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP, BUT HAD THEMSELVES NOT YET RECEIVED DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS ON "SPECIFIC ASPECTS" OF FOLLOW-UP.

3. REGARDING THE ISSUE OF THE PRECISE TEXT WHICH WAS TO BE USED AS A NEGOTIATING BASIS, PETROVSKY CONFIRMED THAT THE USSR WAS NOT WEDDED TO THE CZECH DRAFT, BUT NEEDED A FACE-SAVING FORMULA TO ABANDON IT. FOR THIS REASON THE SOVIETS WERE UNABLE TO ACCEPT EITHER THE
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DANISH DRAFT, OR ANY "REVISED DANISH DRAFT"--OF WHICH

PETROVSKY HAD EVIDENTLY ALREADY GOTTENWIND--AS A NEGOTIATING BASIS. THEY ALSO HAD NOT YET "FINALLY MADE UP THEIR MINDS" WHETHER TO GIVE ENCOURAGEMENT TO TABLING OF THE NEUTRAL DRAFT, BUT IMPLIED THAT THEY PROBABLY WOULD NOT. ON THE OTHER HAND, PETROVSKY WAS QUITE ANXIOUS TO SOUND US OUT ON THE POSSIBLE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SMALL INFORMAL WORKING GROUP, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS FOLLOW-UP VIEWPOINTS, TO DRAFT A NEW COMPROMISE TEXT. WHILE EMPHASIZING ONCE MORE THAT NO PRECISE SOVIET DECISION HAD YET BEEN REACHED, HE THOUGHT THE SOVIET SIDE MIGHT SUGGEST SUCH AN APPROACH NEXT WEEK.

4. ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, PETROVSKY UNAMBIGUOUSLY CONFIRMED THE GIST OF THE ACCOUNT WE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE GDR (REFTEL A PARA 8) AS TO SOVIET FOLLOW-UP OBJECTIVES. THE USSR, HE SAID REPEATEDLY, WAS NOT TOO CONCERNED ABOUT THE TECHNICALITIES OF FOLLOW-UP. THEY DID, HOWEVER, ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD:

- A) CLEARLY "POLITICIZE" THE FOLLOW-UP PROCESS, TO ENABLE WHATEVER FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS ARE AGREED TO TO ADDRESS THEMSELVES WITHOUT "ARTIFICIAL LIMITATIONS" TO "ALL ASPECTS OF DETENTE" AND OF THE "STATE OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS;"
- B) MINIMIZE, OR REMOVE, WHAT PETROVSKY CALLED THE "CONTROL ASPECTS" OF FOLLOW-UP, BY WHICH HE MEANT ANY EMPHASIS ON ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION (I.E. IN BASKET III);
- C) PROVIDE A CLEAR COMMITMENT TO A SECOND, FULL- DRESS CSCE CONFERENCE.

ON THE OTHER HAND, PETROVSKY SAID, THE SOVIETS WERE NOT AT ALL INTERESTED IN A "LOT OF EXPERT GROUPS" OR OTHER TECHNICAL INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS, AS SUGGESTED FOR INSTANCE BY ROMANIA. IN FACT, PETROVSKY THOUGHT, ONE OR TWO EXPERT GROUPS SEEMED TO HIM "MORE THAN ENOUGH".

5. WE REITERATED OUR WON SUPPORT FOR THE DANISH PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE EASIER TO START DISCUSSION ON THE BASIS OF THE DANISH TEXT, WHICH REFLECTED THE EC-NINE AND NATO CONSENSUS, THAN TO TRY TO WRITE STILL ANOTHER PAPER. WE AND OUR ALLIES WOULD,

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NEVERTHELESS, GIVE CAREFUL THOUGHT TO ANY PROPOSAL THE PACT MADE FOR AN INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP WORKING GROUP. AS TO SUBSTANCE, WE STRONGLY CAUTIONED PETROVSKY THAT SOVIET INSISTENCE ON AN OPEN-ENDED, HIGHLY "POLITICIZED" FOLLOW-UP COULD ONLY LEAD TO TIME-CONSUMING DIFFERENCES, SINCE THIS WAS FAR FROM THE EC-NINE AND NATO CONCEPTION. THIS WAS ALSO TRUE FOR ANY CLEAR, UNQUALIFIED COMMITMENT TO A SECOND, FULL-DRESS CSCE, WHICH DID NOT SEEM IN THE

CARDS. INTERESTINGLY, PETROVSKY DID NOT SEEM DISCOURAGED BY THIS RESPONSE WHICH HE SAID WAS "HELPFUL" IN FORMULATING SOVIET THINKING.

6. COMMENT: WE HAVE REPORTED SUBSTNACE OF ABOVE CONVERSATION TO THE EC-NINE AND NATO CAUCUSES. THE EC-NINE, IN PARTICULAR, ARE FOR THE PRESENT NOT ANXIOUS TO BECOME INVOLVED IN AN INFORMAL FOLLOW-UP WORKING-GROUP BEFORE THEIR NEXT POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING WHICH IS TO BE HELD IN ABOUT TEN DAYS TIME. IT IS HOPED THAT THE FRENCH CAN BE PERSUADED AT THIS MEETING TO AGREE TO AT LEAST SOMEWHAT MORE FLEXIBLE NEGOTIATING POSITION TO GIVE THE ALLIES SOME MARGIN FOR MANEUVERS. BARRING CHANGES IN THIS EC-NINE SCENARIO NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON FOLLOW-UP CAN BE EXPECTED, TILL THEN, EVEN THOUGH THE NINE MAY, IN THE MEANTIME, TABLE THEIR PROPOSED SMALL CHANGES IN THE DANISH TEXT. WE ARE URGING THE NINE TO COORDINATE THEIR WORK CLOSELY WITH US TO AVOID POSSIBLE TIME PROBLEMS LATER ON THIS MONTH.

7. AS TO SUBSTANCE, IT APPEARS TO US THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW CLEARLY PUT US ON NOTICE THAT THEY WANT MAXIMAL POLITICAL FLEXIBILITY IN PREPARING FOR A SECOND, STILL MORE "POLITICAL" EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, WITHOUT HAVING THEIR FEET HELD TO A FIRE. WHETHER THEY WILL IN FACT PRESS THESE OBJECTIVES IN FACE OF STRONG ALLIED OPPOSITION, AND RISK NEW CONFRONTATIONS IN BAKSET IV IS THE QUESTION THEY ARE NOW UNDOUBTEDLY CONSIDERING. DALE

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